1: Gusinde SH6 Yahgan SH6

622, 754, 755, 776, 787, 789, 791, 793, 874

[Information on various aspects of Yahgan culture which are closely related to the characteristics and activities of the yékamuš or medicine-man, including his training, role as a community leader, curer, sorcerer, and custodian of religious lore, have been marked for category 756 and will be found under that classification.]

/386 cont./
meanwhile airs out thoroughly, is completely cleansed by the rain, and after considerable time is again suitable as a temporary refuge. With this in mind they leave the first dwelling undamaged when they move out, and upon their return they need make only a few additions. Again, unreasoning nature helps where these Indians themselves are lacking in cleanliness. Even though the dwelling may be changed, certain circumstances may make it imperative to remain for a longer period in one place. When such circumstances are absent, every family unhesitatingly and at frequent intervals moves its campsite a great distance.

Each individual family erects a dwelling exclusively for itself wherever it temporarily happens to be. Formerly, however, in the west an exception was made where a hut known as áyusuĕkĕr, was built to be occupied by several families. The reason for this was either the prophetic warning of a few yékamuš who predicted a severe winter or the stranding of a whale at the beginning of the cold season. Three to six families who were related or friends joined in the building of this community hut. They chose a suitable spot near the stranded whale or near the swamp where they preserved large pieces of fat in the water, in any case on dry ground and particularly well protected from wind and weather by a high rock. The men taking part in the construction of the dwelling, the customary dome-shaped hut, but elongated in this case, fetched suitable poles and built a stable, unusually strong framework.

They devoted great care to this work, which therefore occupied them all for perhaps half a day, whereas the ordinary dome-shaped hut took only two to three hours and the conical hut even less time. The length and width of this communal dwelling depended on the number of occupants, and the height of the interior was increased somewhat to prevent any discomfort that might be caused from the smoke of the larger fire. An unusually thick cover was laid on the firm framework, consisting of several alternate layers of tree bark and grass, rushes and twigs, with large, thick pieces of leather occasionally inserted between them. Thongs were stretched over large areas in order to /387/ secure the outer cover firmly. An entrance was left on each of the two narrow ends, and this was covered with a leather hanging. Both entrances were

/1098 cont./

775 797 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watauinčiwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians," [551] I was told by the Yamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

> 36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1060.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians. 775 Gertie said: "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the kĕ̆špiš or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

775 781 They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their deceased relatives again, although they are not strictly logical about it. Many a /1099/ Yamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dream. They are not just dream images, they are the real kĕ̆špiš!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Hašamáif wátuwa it is said that the kĕ̆špiš of four deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

/1296 cont./

776 in their dreams, tells them many things" /cited in English/ (259).
756

259. And again at (k):238: "The yecamush claims to have dealings with beings called yapahchel, and they are the ones who give him the power to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill" /translated from Spanish/.

In BD:661 one reads: "Yapáčal, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yĕkamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/. If, referring to this, Bridges believes that this designation also means "spirits of men, especially such as have been killed by violence" /cited in English/, I must reject this as inaccurate. A special relationship between a yĕkamuš and his Yefáčel is universally recognized, and it will be discussed below. Here it should merely be pointed out that there is a belief in thumb-sized guardian spirits, from whose large number every person is assigned his Yefáčel for the rest of his life.

b. Forms of Superstition

• 787 Several groups of definite spirits have just been named and described. These are not independent beings which actually exist, but are present only in Yamana belief. To this extent they must be regarded as objects of superstition. For various reasons they were treated separately, first of all, because each group is an individual, definite phenomenon. This is not true of the figures which appear in dreams and the many superstitious views which are linked with some definite circumstance.

1. Dreams

787 The fact that the Yamana dream a great deal must be traced
154 back to their alertness in everyday life and to their very vivid imaginations. Almost every morning one of the adults in a family

/1296 cont./

787 hut will relate his dream. It is not regarded as unusual for someone who is suddenly awakened in the middle of the night 154 by a vivid dream to wake up his family and tell them about it. A yékamuš may even call out to all the neighboring huts from his bed and announce to the people what he just experienced in a dream, although this is generally without any significance to outsiders. It will be explained below how much the yékamuš pursue their calling in dreams. The Yamana believe that the [828] very frequent dream images come by themselves to ordinary people, and everyone is very much concerned about them /1297/ (260).

260. Hyades (q):253 says briefly: "Dreams are frequent, but in general no one seems to attribute any meaning or importance to them" /translated from French/. Only the first part of this statement is correct.

787 Everyone attributes more or less importance to a dream, depending on its content, the person's temperament, and given circumstances. There is no rule or any sort of criterion; the individual attaches more significance to one dream and less to another according to his own feeling and judgment. A person will be more vividly concerned and more excited by something that touches him directly or threatens him with grave consequences than by unimportant and insignificant everyday things. Everyone who hears about a dream accepts without contradiction the dreamer's interpretation of it. No one would ever dare minimize in any way or even reject the interpretation of a dream given by the one who experienced it and who evaluates it according to his own judgment. Anyone who is extremely disturbed about a dream turns to a yékamuš, who, for his part, will always confirm the seriousness of the whole matter and will usually prepare at once to ward off the harm threatened in the dream.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Yamana believe implicitly in the dreams which agitate and alarm them (261).

261. Bridges (i):14 has reliably declared: "The Yahgans had great faith in dreams

/1297 cont./

•787 and were consequently often troubled with anticipation of death without reason" /cited in English/.

This is chiefly the case when one's own life or that of his immediate family is in any way threatened. The Yamana regards the dream figures, whether they be spirits from the groups named above, friendly and hostile acquaintances, souls of the dead, or even animals, as actual manifestations, as living creatures which present themselves on occasion, as kĕspiš. Hence he trusts their words, takes their warnings into consideration, fears their threats, and quietly reconciles himself to the trouble they announce. Our Indians are considerably strengthened in their confident belief in dreams by the fact that now and then some premonition awakened by the dream is fulfilled or some foreboding comes true. They remember such so-called proofs of the reliability of dreams or of their faith in them throughout their lives and point them out over and over again on suitable occasions. Almost any Yamana is able to point to such an experience, that is to say, to show the credibility of a dream. They attach the full merit of truth especially to the dreams of the yĕkamuš.

Bridges realized this: "Dreaming of a doctor is much dreaded by these natives, since they believe it surely forebodes ill -- either some sad disaster, or deaths caused by the doctor dreamt of. Uroopatoosh told me that his mother, the day she died, told him that she had dreamt of a doctor" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 259;1864). Much earlier Fitz-Roy (a):181 described Jemmy Button as /1298/ "a great believer in dreams" /cited in English/ and substantiated this as follows: "While at sea, on board the 'Beagle,' about the middle of the year 1832, he said one morning to Mr. Bynoe, whispered in his ear that his father was dead. Mr. Bynoe tried to laugh him out of the idea, but ineffectually. He fully believed that such was the case, and maintained his opinion up to the time of finding his relations in the Beagle Channel, when, I regret to say, he found that his father had died some months previously. He did not forget to remind Mr. Bynoe of their former conversation, and, with a significant shake of the head said, it was 'bad'. After that

/1298 cont./

•781 time he said no more about his father" /cited in English/.

The firm belief in dreams, which I was able to observe directly in Nelly Lawrence, is characteristic of all Yamana. A few more examples follow. On July 26, 1923, Nelly told me sadly that she had dreamed very bad things the night before: "A few families came here [to Punta Remolino] from Mejillones [on Navarino Island] and told me that there was universal mourning over there. Today someone will surely come from there and tell us who has died. After this dream I woke up and did not go back to sleep again." She spoke with great firmness and could not shake off her depressed mood even when I tried to convince her that dreams are meaningless. It was true that for several days absolutely no visitors had arrived from Mejillones; we feared a sickness had broken out. To the surprise of everyone, Alejandro landed in Punta Remolino toward noon of the same day and immediately told us: "Last night two women died over there among us, Anita, the wife of Willert, and Sara, the wife of Mašemikens. Mašemikens and old Emilia are seriously ill and will probably also succumb [to the sudden epidemic of grippe]!" After Alejandro had had a heart-to-heart talk with Nelly for about an hour, she immediately came to me and told me in detail what she had just heard. "So you see my dream of last night, which I told you about this morning, came true," she said with sad earnestness; "I knew that something [some news] would have to come today! Whatever I dream always comes true, no matter how distressing! I am never mistaken in my dreams! How terrible this news is. Now we must fear that still more people will be taken away in this epidemic. The poor child of Mašemikens has now lost its mother and if the father, too, dies, the girl will be orphaned (262). Now it is to be feared that soon

262. This girl, Eva, about seven years old, is the only child of Sara who has just died and of old Pedro Masemikens who is now very ill.

the last of my countrymen will pass away. Then I shall be the only one left and must feel the hard, tragic fate of my countrymen. I, myself, as the only one, will be here but a short time,

/1298 cont./

•787 and with me the last survivor of the Yamana will sink into the grave." Anyone would have been touched to see this woman in her anxious grief over her own people. /1299/ The primary aim here, however, was to show that the Yamana attribute a great measure of truth to their dreams.

On my fourth journey I interrupted my stay in Beagle Channel by a prolonged visit to the Selk'nam (p. 191 /untranslated/). When I returned to Punta Remolino, Nelly said to me one morning: "Last night I dreamed again, but it was nothing worth mentioning. Why is it that we sometimes have very good dreams in which we see the future? Yes, what we so often see in dreams is surely true! -- But I haven't told you about the two dreams I had while you were with the Selk'nam." Nelly now told me: "At that time [in March, 1923] I dreamed that Mašemikens came here to Punta Remolino for a short visit. When he bade us farewell he said sadly: 'I feel as though we were seeing each other today for the last time. You are a good woman, willing to help, and I should like to come again soon, but I feel that we shall probably not see each other again!' That is what Mašemikens said. Sure enough, he did not come to Punta Remolino after that and later [in August] he died." Nelly mentioned another incident: "One morning Marocha came to me all excited; it was the day before her death. She told me: 'Last night I had very bad dreams. My brother Tom [father of Homestead and brother of Alfredo] came to me and said: "Where is Alfredo?" I said: "He is staying in the south! I, too, would be glad if he would come back soon and tell our white friend [Gusinde] a few stories. The latter is soon returning from the region of the Selk'nam." Tom: "It may be a long time before he comes. But I must go soon." Marocha: "Stay a while!" Tom: "I can't; my hašuwápisa /blue whale/ is waiting for me; he is in a great hurry and will not permit me to stay." Marocha: "Oh, well, the hašuwápisa can wait." Tom: "He won't allow that. I must leave immediately with hašuwápisa. I came to call you!" Marocha: "But I want to stay here for a bit!" Tom: "But I must go again; hašuwápisa is in a hurry and will grant me no further delay!"...When he had gone a certain distance, he waved his hand toward me, as though to say: "We shall see each other soon!" He retreated farther and

/1299 cont./

•787 farther and finally disappeared completely.' ...All this Marocha told me and wept and sobbed as she did so. Then she took three little baskets which she had made the day before and handed them to me, saying: 'Take these little baskets. If I should really die soon, I could not give you anything any more. I would rather you take these little baskets and keep them!' I took the little baskets. On the afternoon of the same day Marocha felt very ill; she was stricken with fever and the next morning she was dead. All this happened just as I told it to you!" Each word had the tone of utter conviction.

The haǰuwápisa mentioned above is to be explained as follows. This /1300/ is the common name of the mighty blue whale, Balaenoptera schlegelii (p. 36 /untranslated/). This Tom, Marocha's brother, had died long before her conversation with Nelly; he came to his sister Marocha in a dream. It is said of him: One day, as he was walking along the shore, a haǰuwápisa emerged from the water and for some time kept staring at Tom. Tom died that same year; the haǰuwápisa took along his késpiš. From that time on the two were [somehow] connected. Tom, accompanied by that haǰuwápisa, appeared to his sister Marocha in a dream. On this occasion haǰuwápisa took her késpiš along, just as he had previously taken the késpiš of Tom. That is why Marocha died soon after her dream in which, actually, haǰuwápisa carried her off. This strange interpretation must be regarded, according to the principles of the medicine men, as an isolated case. Accordingly, it does not run counter to the general conception of the késpiš, the human soul after death.

It is the individual person himself who more or less enlivens his dream image, giving it greater or lesser significance. He likes to attribute reality to those images that give him a vision of the future. Conjectures and forebodings that first appeared as dreams and afterward came to pass in some way strengthen him anew in his belief and increase his confidence in dreams.

2. Superstitious Ideas

811

In the simple mental life of the Fuegians there is no lack of certain views and opinions which must be regarded as true

/1300 cont./

811 /translated from French/. Cooper:159, on the basis of the few data available to him at the time, surmised correctly: "Superstitions exist, but apparently in moderate number only" /cited in English/. Even now this judgment need not be changed.

/1301/

a. Superstitions Related to the Animal Kingdom

825 The Fuegian is very dependent on the animals of his homeland. Hence it is not strange that they play a dominant role in his superstitious ideas.

825 If at night a dog howls miserably for any length of time,
•787 its master interprets it as presaging all kinds of dire prospects for himself or for a proposed undertaking, such as a hunt, a journey, and important work. If all the dogs howl in the few huts that form a camp, an epidemic or at least serious illness among many persons is to be expected. If the howling of many dogs has lasted for some time, all the people come out of their huts and hurl everything at hand toward heaven, things such as stones and pieces of leather, tools and weapons, and preferably hot ashes and glowing logs. Meanwhile no one, with the exception of half-grown children, may stay in bed or rest. Everyone must be up and about until dawn. All night long everyone is very excited and behaves wildly. They wave their arms about in extreme agitation; they thrust their arms forward and upward with hands outspread and cry from constricted throats tetete... All this is supposed to ward off the menacing illness.

When people are sitting out in the open in front of their huts, it sometimes happens that a dog comes crawling up to a person, dragging himself along the ground, stretched out on all fours, and pushing himself forward on his belly. They interpret this to mean that the person himself or someone among his intimate family will soon die.

825 In contrast to the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 707), our Yamana are neither friendly to the fox nor kindly disposed toward it, because it preys on human carcasses. The following story is told. When

/1302 cont./

825 Our Yamana are no less superstitious about birds. Some among the great numbers of them prove to be helpful. They announce things that are important to human beings and warn them. The sea duck dẽ́ka (Tachyeres patachonicus) is at times even included in food taboos (p. 503). The mighty condor wẽ́-iyáu (Cathartes aura) is said to lead the dance of the birds. The condor can be dangerous to little children, which is why a mother may never leave her infant unattended. It is said that one day a small child at play crept out of the hut and down to the beach. The child's mother sat at her work in the hut and did not notice it. A condor flew down from above and seized the child with its strong talons, dragging it to the nearest mountain. After a while the mother stepped out of her hut and looked for the child. In vain she searched all the other huts, and no one could give her any information. Everybody helped her look, but they did not find the child. The next day they walked around the whole region, but without success. Nevertheless the mother and her relatives kept on searching. Finally, on the peak of the nearby /1303/ mountain they found the remains of the child, its head and a few bones. It happened that the face was not mutilated and the mother recognized her child. The condor had dragged it off and devoured it because it had been sitting unattended on the beach. The mother wept bitterly and returned to her hut.

825 821 787 If a hawk, yo'okalía (Milvago chimango), acts unusually happy and flies about gaily, good weather is on the way. Anyone who is obliged to take a long journey starts out early when he sees this sign; beautiful weather will accompany him. When yo'okalía screams complainingly at night, snow and cold weather are in the offing, both annoy the bird.

825 787 Quite generally the light-colored horned owl, sítа (Nyctalops accipitrinus), is very carefully watched. If it persistently and anxiously flies around one or more huts standing close together, its cry means that someone in the neighborhood has died. If it lands on a hut, even for a few moments, it indicates that one of the inmates will soon die. When this sítа on its nocturnal flights utters the prolonged, intermittent cry kĩt, kĩt, kĩt... which sounds as though drops of blood were splashing on the

/1303 cont./

825 ground, it is an omen of murder and a person from the immediate
• 781 vicinity will be the victim. If someone approaches a small group of men or lands near a few huts and notices a sïs circling around the huts during the day, he recognizes this as a definite warning that these people are hostile to him and have evil intentions, are perhaps even planning to murder him. Hence he quietly slips away that very night and goes far enough so that none of the men can follow him. If in the next few days a horned owl should again appear in his vicinity or circle around him, he concludes that the men are on his trail. Without delay he hurries off to his own home. He is safe in the circle of his relatives.

825 The Yamana must show due respect for the small finch
824 hëlpul (Taeniioptera pyrope). Anyone who annoys it and throws stones at it must be prepared for very bad weather. Out of vengefulness and an injured sense of honor, it causes bad storms and heavy rains.

825 A person who hears the cry of the gray night heron tïwux
787 (Nycticorax obscurus), rejoices, for this bird tells him that a canoe with friendly visitors will soon come. They usually arrive the very next day and from exactly the same direction that the call of this heron came from or the direction from which the bird flew when it came. Even today the tïwux is venerated everywhere.

825 The large petrels, especially the albatross, which rise up
821 over the waves far out on the high seas and describe large circles in the air, announce to the people that they must be prepared for rough seas and foul weather.

825 /1304/ It is a universal custom for a hunter who has bagged
777 a Molinas goose lëkuf (Chloephaga hybrida /kelp goose/) to break both its legs immediately; otherwise he will have no future luck at hunting. If the hunter has a newborn child at home, he may not break the legs of this goose with his own hands if he wishes to keep his child from harm (p. 505).

825 A solitary sea duck, dëlka (Tachyeres patachonicus), fly-
788 ing over a hut fills all the inmates with fear and trembling. They are afraid that this dëlka will take with it the kïspif of the children present. They quickly throw large pieces of skin over each baby and cover them well. Others will repeatedly stretch their arms out in front of them, palms forward, at the same time

/1310 cont./

•781 Finally there are a few superstitious ideas of a different nature. Nelly assured me: "If half-grown children run away from their parental hut, if someone wounds himself badly with his ax or if he falls or stumbles and burns himself seriously, it means that some person in his vicinity is going to die. The persons who have hurt themselves are not to blame, nor are those children who have run away. Their kdgzit prompts them, and they can do nothing about it. The parents of a small child will not explain this to him if he has run away, instead they await with terror the death that has been thus announced." Nelly gave me this explanation when I told her that one day, late in the afternoon, the small daughter of Mallemikeny had run away with some other girls (p. 781). She pointed out to me that the wife of Thomas died that very night.

[183] SD:274 gives hunlt as a bad omen for the hunt. "a supposed evil influence arising from unclean and unwashed persons after sexual uncleanness eating animals, as guanaco or otter caught by dogs which caused them (the dogs) to cease to be successful in further hunting" /cited in English/. I did not come across this view; it does not agree with many ideas that have been definitely proved.

382 Young Darwin (f):81, 327 reports: "When York Minster was brought back to his own country the natives told him that he should pluck out the few short hairs on his face. They also threatened a young missionary who had been left among them for a time that they would strip him naked and pluck out the hairs on his face and body, although he was by no means very hirsute." Hyades (q):255 refers to this and asserts: "The Fuegians throw into the fire /1311/ hairs that have been plucked out or that have fallen out. They certainly do not destroy them as a hygienic precaution" /translated from French/. Actually, everyone is

[154] anxiously concerned about destroying every hair by fire with his own hands. Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 712), the Yamana do this purposely for fear a yékamuł might pick up a single hair and, by means of it, more easily cause a person some harm. Anyone who is certain that he has nothing to fear does not resist having a sample of his hair cut off. I succeeded in doing this.

/1896 cont./

X 156 *yêkamuf* themselves. It is true that ordinary people do not understand the inner relationships in the work of the medicine man, much less their alleged connection with the oft-mentioned spirits, but they do have some notion of all this and that suffices to give them some understanding of the medicine-man system. Every Yamana knows more or less accurately the sphere in which the *yêkamuf* operate, what means they use, what external conditions are linked with success, and to what extent one *yêkamuf* differs from another in ability. These specific facts are common property, for the *yêkamuf* devote themselves to their task quite publicly and before the eyes of their close fellow-villagers. In this process, everyone who pays a certain amount of attention easily learns the observable techniques of a medicine man. If he supplements this with the explanations of the *yêkamuf*, he will finally become acquainted with the latter's entire body of thought. If a Yamana becomes firmly convinced of his own ability, /1896/ time will decide when he will begin to work as a *yêkamuf*. This brief sketch outlines the process of development of those persons who on their own initiative and later in life begin practicing the trade of medicine man within modest limits.

X 156 • 187 Such individuals, however, do not have a calling in the strict sense of the word, and without this no one becomes a full-fledged *yêkamuf*. First of all I believe that one can speak of an indirect or intermediary calling. This expression has a threefold meaning. If the relatives of a young man or *yêkamuf* who are friends of his have discovered a talent in him for this office and if they feel that he is qualified to make contact easily with the *tûkûnat* spirits by quickly putting himself into the dream state, then the people who have observed this tell the man of their conviction and advise him to become a medicine man. It can also happen that some *yêkamuf* is requested by spirits in a dream to introduce to his art a man they designate, so that he may later practice it. This *yêkamuf* assiduously trains the man designated, for he wants to show the spirits that he is obliging and he takes great pleasure in giving a pupil his start. Finally one must add here all those persons who on their own initiative devote themselves to the duties of *yêkamuf*. They do this because they have become personally convinced that they are capable of the same accomplishments that they have observed in full-fledged *yêkamuf*.

/1926 cont./

the can learn of all speak of a calling with regard to this last class of *yikamuf*, to which a few women also belong. The two groups first mentioned have a somewhat higher standing. Under no circumstances need a person expect any kind of harm or fear revenge from the spirits if he decides not to adopt the vocation of *yikamuf* despite the above-mentioned requests, for these are regarded merely as invitations and are not compulsory. It is true that if certain spirits seriously want a man for this service, they call him with unequivocal peremptoriness. Similarly, no one needs to answer a summons expressed through other influences or indefinite impressions. This was explained to me in March, 1913, by Creen on the basis of a personal experience. "Years ago I once passed through a dense forest alone. Suddenly I heard very beautiful singing, like the voice of a bird. I had never heard anything like it. I started to go in the direction of the voice. When I was quite near, the singing sounded even more beautiful, but I saw no one. Then I threw a spear in the direction of that voice. I did not see anyone, but the singing suddenly ceased. Shortly after that I felt very weak and unwell. I dragged myself along with effort and reached my hut. The *yikamuf* in the neighborhood immediately realized that something special must have happened to me, and they advised me to become a *yikamuf*. But I had no desire to do this and so the men did not urge me further. A year after that I had a dream. I saw an old man who seriously /1926/ warned me: 'Never become a *yikamuf*! On the day that you perform as one you will die!' I do not know who that old man was; I have heeded his warning." A person who takes on the role of a medicine man under such circumstances always plays a subordinate role.

In contrast to this there is the uncommon or direct, or immediate call, with which there is decided compulsion. It can come about in various ways. For instance, a young man will be walking through the forest looking for a small tree trunk for his harpoon shaft. He roams about for a long time, much longer than usual, looks hither and yon, but no sapling seems just right. He does not recognize himself in this behavior, he is surprised at himself, it is almost as though he were changed and under a spell. Suddenly he stands before a little tree that he likes extraordinarily

/1396 cont./

well and exactly suits him. He immediately applies his ax, but it is only after many a heavy blow that he reaches the center. Instantly a considerable amount of water gushes out. He is startled and recognizes this sign. Without hesitation he turns his back on the little tree and hastens back to his hut. He briefly asks his wife and children not to touch him, talk to him, or disturb him, but to remain perfectly quiet. He lies down and is immediately fast asleep. Then he again sees his kĕ́špiš standing in front of that little tree in the forest, out of which abundant water is still flowing. Numerous other kĕ́špiš are standing about, some of whom he knows, but not most of them. He discovers some friendly yĕ́kamuš among them. One or another of the yĕ́kamuš points to the dreamer's own kĕ́špiš in the group and acts very friendly and well-meaning toward him. Gradually all the spirits sit down at that beautiful spot. Then they offer fine presents to the kĕ́špiš of the dreamer and give him things to eat and drink, for everything is there in great abundance. The kĕ́špiš of the dreamer is happy among them, everything is magnificent and quite in accord with his wishes, every detail is to his liking. The kĕ́špiš talk together for a long time; they discuss all kinds of things and enjoy themselves. Suddenly all the spirits get up, and each one hastily bids farewell to the kĕ́špiš of the dreamer. Soon the man wakes up and finds himself alone again in his hut. In an anxious voice he calls together his neighbors. They recognize his condition of spiritloss and the yĕ́kamuš who are present begin the čōwánni song. The heart of this man is filled with sorrow, and he longs and yearns for those friendly spirits in whose company he but recently felt indescribably happy. Soon the čōwánni song brings back those friendly spirits, he again finds himself in their company and is quite happy. When the people stop their singing, the spirits go away again and the man finds himself back in everyday life. He has calmed down, for now he knows that the /1397/ spirits have accepted him in their society. The very next night he dreams again. His kĕ́špiš hastens back to that little tree in the woods, from which water is still gushing. That happy company also arrives there without delay and greets him warmly as a friend and associate. One or another of the spirits is particularly friendly, offers to help this kĕ́špiš, and tells him frankly that he must become a yĕ́kamuš. The next morning this man wakes up. All his

/1397 cont./

X756 neighbors can see that he is feeling well; the memory of that
781 company of spirits is still alive in him. Without talking about it
● he gathers up his things, leaves his family, and sets out to go to that experienced yékamuš whose spirit he saw the night before. He stays with him for some time and is taught by him.

X756 There is another call that comes in a similar manner. If
776 someone is walking dreamily through the forest, lost in thought
781 and unconscious of himself, so to speak, he may suddenly see a large number of spirits in front of him. These are people of small stature but like human beings with respect to the shape of their bodies. Soon the man collapses and is overcome by a deep sleep. In his dream he now sees those little people much more distictly. He realizes that many spirits are sitting there around a fire, warming themselves and softly talking among themselves. They wave to the kĕšpiš of the dreamer in friendly fashion, and one of them seems particularly favorably disposed. They all invite him to sit down with them beside the fire; he does so and feels content among them. After some time the man wakes up, and it is only with some effort that he rubs the sleep out of his eyes. The dream is very vivid to him and that kĕšpiš who was particularly favorably disposed toward him becomes his guardian spirit. The latter will give him his song and that makes him a yékamuš. The type of spirit referred to is called hĕšteka-yékamuš. They like to stay in old tree trunks. They sometimes move the trunks in such a way that they bend extremely low, turn around, and shake and tremble violently. These hĕšteka-yékamuš live in old decayed tree trunks.

The direct call can also come from actual čõwánni spirits. A man will be roaming along the shore alone, as though sunk in a world of dreams, without definite thoughts. Suddenly he finds himself in a visionary state, known as asikáku; before him swarms a vast number of herring, whales, swordfish, vultures, cormorants, petrels, and other animals. They all speak flatteringly to him, are very gracious, and show great devotion to him; they act like the most friendly human beings. The man is completely out of his mind and does not know what is happening to him. His whole body is numb, and he sinks down and lies there motionless. His kĕšpiš is communing with those čõwánni spirits and feels an

/1397 cont./

extraordinary happiness. Suddenly the spirits take their leave and disappear. Awakening from his deep dreams, the man staggers home. He hardly knows what is going on around him. He lies down on his bed /1398/ and sinks back into his dream. Again the swarm of animals appears to him; they are all friendly to him and entice his kĕšpiš. Soon the latter follows them far out to the high seas. One of the spirits is concerned about this kĕšpiš and treats it with extravagant kindness; he will become the special guardian spirit of this man. All the other spirits are also at the man's disposal as friends and helpers. The immediate neighbors of this man, particularly the yĕkamuš, realize from his behavior what is going on. He is left alone and everybody waits patiently until he has shaken off his deep dream.

Sometimes a person is also called by Haŭčéllakīpa, the most powerful spirit in the lōima-yĕkamuš. The man chosen sinks into a deep dream quite suddenly. Haŭčéllakīpa appears to his kĕšpiš in the form of a huge whale which is considerably larger than any representative of this species. The kĕšpiš understands what this vision means; he can no longer escape and must become a yĕkamuš. The old masters are told by their own guardian spirits about every asikáku call. A person on whom such a vision is conferred loses complete control over himself for a few days; he does not eat or drink and stays away from everyone. He spends the time dreaming and his kĕšpiš often returns to the group of spirits where he feels more and more at home. Soon one of those spirits puts himself at the disposal of this kĕšpiš as his yefáčel and personal guardian spirit with overwhelming friendliness. The yefáčel finally gives this kĕšpiš his song, and then the owner of the kĕšpiš is a yĕkamuš. When, lost in the dream, he himself begins singing this song aloud, everyone around him knows what has happened to him. Every man who has received such a direct call goes to an experienced medicine man for a few months to be taught by him. When he returns to his family group, he puts himself at their disposal.

One can become a full-fledged yĕkamuš only by way of an asikáku. In one of the subsequent "visions" a special guardian spirit introduces himself to the dreaming person and remains attached to him from then on as his personal helper. He will not

/1398 cont./

release him; hence the person must operate as a yékamuš. If he refuses, the yefáčel, more accurately known as yefáčel-xéǫla or aǫ́na-xéǫla, soon takes severe revenge by letting the person die. Sometimes an alert yékamuš can prevent this grave outcome. Nelly Lawrence told me about her call; she did not obey it and on that account ran the risk of extreme mortal danger: "Once I was walking through the forest with my little daughter. Suddenly a strange, loud páx sound came from a tree trunk. I looked back and saw in that decayed trunk a cunning aǫ́na-xéǫla waving to me in a very friendly way. I did not take it for an asikáku, but for an ordinary kéšpiš. I dragged myself along as though I were in a coma; I was seized by an uncanny fear, /1399/ and irresistible exhaustion made me drop on my bed. I dreamed, and once again that aǫ́na-xéǫla was standing before me. It smiled at me in a very friendly way and showered me with all kinds of gifts, with skins and little baskets, ornamental chains and yékuš; it even gave me a special song. After I awoke sluggishly that song kept running through my head for a long time. I was weak and sick for several days; I felt lifeless and deprived of energy. A yékamuš kípa addressed me: 'How weak you are now! Just a short time ago I saw you vigorous and healthy!' I did not tell her anything definite, but offered her a cup of tea. She took the cup and recoiled: 'Why do you offer me this disgusting animal?' I was taken aback and said: 'But I offered you a cup of tea!' The woman answered excitedly: 'No, that is a disgusting animal!' That aǫ́na-xéǫla had not released me since my dream; it followed my every step. Gradually I became convinced that I must practice as a yékamuš, for that is what this spirit was trying to make me do. But I could not decide to do it. That yékamuškípa was enlightened by her spirit as she held the cup of tea in her hands, and immediately she realized what had happened to me. 'You must become a yékamuš!' she said to me. This is what she saw: that aǫ́na-xéǫla had put a fur cloak around me and it was fastened around my neck with a leather thong. It was this cloak that was weighing me down so that I often fell to the ground! Full of anxiety for me, that woman hastened back to her hut. She soon went to sleep. In her dream she saw how that fur cloak was constricting my throat more and more so that in a few days I would have choked. Early in the morning she began

/1399 cont./
her song, full of anxiety. She called me to come there and asked: 'Did you have an asikáku there in the woods and since then do you have the feeling that someone is choking you so that you sometimes fall down because you can't breathe?' I said: 'Yes, that's the way it is!' Then I had to get down on the ground in front of her. With both hands she grasped the fur cloak and the many gifts that had been showered on me by the aõna-xẽ̆ola. She energetically threw all of them aside until I was finally rid of them. She also took the song and the asikāku away from me. Not until then did I feel relieved, and since then I have had no further difficulty. To this day I am grateful for the help of that yẽ́kamuškīpa; she saved me from imminent death." The complete designation for a person who, through a vision, has received his calling to practice as a yẽ́kamuš is, accordingly asikáku-yẽ́kamuš.

2. The Medicine-Man School

Although it is true that the yẽ́kamuš of the Yamana are not joined together in a society, nevertheless everyone who is active in this domain is quite generally known. Occasionally yẽ́kamuš who are on friendly terms with each other even join forces to effect a cure in common. An aged master, /1400/ of course, sees to it that a young man of his family is trained for this service, for a large family group is, after all, dependent on the activity of a yẽ́kamuš and could not forgo it completely without harming itself. If, at a certain time, several yẽ́kamuš feel the necessity of preparing this or that young candidate for their calling, they instigate a lõ̆ima-yẽ́kamuš. The goal of a meeting thus designated is clearly implied in the term. It is, in other words, an actual school for prospective medicine men.

As though by chance I learned that the yẽ́kamuš now and then meet in a special hut for the purpose of winning over younger successors to their calling (327). On my fourth journey I directed

327. At that time I knew nothing about the Pešere of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 786), which, in part, serves the same ends as the medicine-man school of the Yamana.

/1407 cont./

It is well known that the yékamuš carry out their works in a dream, as it is commonly said, which means a vivid imagination or auto-suggestion, a lively weaving of fantasies. It is maintained that the yékamuš loses his own personality and that it is replaced by his spirit, namely, the kēšpix or yefáčel-xéola that belongs to him. The latter carries out what the yékamuš is trying to do or wishes. The yékamuš is most closely united with his yefáčel "in the dream." Therefore, it is of decisive importance for him to be able to put himself quickly and effortlessly into the dream state. Every apprentice is supposed to acquire this art above all in the lóima-yékamuš. He observes the experienced masters present, who, after singing briefly, succeed in being completely absent mentally while sitting there; they have lost their own personalities. Either they slump over and remain motionless, as though sleeping, or they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth, singing softly, their heavy and half-closed eyes glazed and fixed on one point. The ušwáalexamuš imitates all this; the old people watch him, but give no definite instructions. He himself does not say whether his power of imagination has increased and his fantasies are more vivid. It is not until later that ordinary people discover his skill, after the ušwáalexamuš has begun to practice independently.

Every yékamuš has the power of invoking his own guardian spirit and any other spirit with his singing. During the asikáku the yefáčel-xéola gives the man his /1408/ song. When the chosen one has adopted this song and made it his own, he has the key which gives him admission to the realm of the spirits, for the personal guardian spirit, above all, listens to this song and sooner or later puts himself at the disposal of his protégé. The Yamana now maintain that it is not really the yékamuš who sings, but his yefáčel. In other words, the yékamuš starts the song given him by the yefáčel, but in a short time the yefáčel takes it over and carries it on for a long time. Finally the yefáčel withdraws from the dream image of his yékamuš and the latter wakes up. These songs are very simple melodies on a single tone or melodies with an added interval of a third or fourth at the beginning or the end. The syllables híjyang híjyang hó are repeated to these melodies, or hóh yō yō, or finally hajnán wagán harán and similar variations.

/1408 cont./

X 756 ● 787 533 A uśwaĕaléxamuš has been familiar with these melodies from his youth. Here in the lōima-yékamuš he takes up a definite melody and continues it while his imagination is vividly at work. He is animated by the belief that he received this melody from his yefáčel-xéola. This explains its suggestive power over the ego whenever a yékamuš repeats it. Here in the lōima-yékamuš the candidate must learn how to put himself into the dream state after briefly singing, for it is in the realm of dreams that the spirits are at his disposal. Singing is not permitted outside the lōima hut, for this would lure the yefáčel out. Nevertheless, if a yefáčel should follow an apprentice who has gone into the forest and is gathering wood, and should move him to sing, then the apprentice must take up the song and his companions must accompany him softly. The practiced yékamuš are regularly stimulated to sing in their dream, and after they wake up they naturally continue singing as long as the stimulation lasts, that is, as long as their yefáčel is with them, in exceptional cases even beyond the noon hour.

X 756 787 In the medicine-man school the apprentices are almost completely dependent upon their own observations and practice; they observe every little thing the old masters do, copy it as best they can, and make it their own. There is no detailed instruction in the lōima-yékamuš. Auto-suggestion makes every candidate aware of the extent to which his wishes have become reality. The old masters, for their part, know through their visions what the apprentice has attained and what may still be expected of him. They do not discuss this in so many words, but communicate among themselves in that dream realm in which they carry on all their activity.

In the above description only the apprentices in the lōima house have been considered. Many details about the conduct of the old masters could be given, but it may suffice to give a few basic characteristics. Although I have just said that everything the yékamuš see and do takes place in their visions, it is nevertheless true /1409/ that in the late evening hours they tell many things about their hallucinations in plain words and with very lively performances. Above all they describe the appearance of their own yefáčel, his behavior in the lōima house, and his leave-taking.

/1409 cont./

They also describe their own késpix in the realm of the spirits and his being with them. All this takes place in the following manner. During the common singing one man will suddenly make his voice louder and louder, his whole body starts to tremble, his eyes are fixed on one point, and he moves toward it as he slides a bit closer to the hut fire. Suddenly he cries -- I repeat Mašemikens' words: "My yefáčel is already quite close!" He gets up, goes all around the fire, with the upper part of his body bent far over. He touches one man and then another and asks: "Who are you?" Each one answers: "Karendáulum mútu, I am a native of this region!" After Mašemikens has sat down in his place, he continues: "I see my yefáčel and other yefáčel going to Aniawáia; they are gathering a few yefáčel there. They are preparing all kinds of things! Be on your guard and watch everything they are going to do!" After some brief singing and wailing, Mašemikens says: "Everybody has to paint himself again!" He reaches for čílër² and tumarápu and rubs his cheeks with them. Meanwhile several yékamuš stretch their cupped hands toward the warmth rising from the hut fire; they scoop it up, so to speak, and pour it over their bodies. Then Mašemikens, trembling all over, cries: "My yefáčel is here already, he is just stepping into this lóima house!" At the same time he slides toward the hut fire, for the yefáčel love warmth. Mašemikens cries: "My yefáčel is now with me! Are you all courageous and strong enough to sing along out loud? Many yefáčel are crowding into our lóima-hut!" Now loud wailing and a terrified yelling begin, present trembles with agitation, as though he were out of his mind, everyone lifts his eyes and stares absently into the distance. Into this commotion Thomas yells: "I am singing with all my might! My yefáčel is already here, too, and is listening to my song!" Whaits says loudly: "I cannot understand what the yefáčel are saying to one another. There are many of them here in the lóima house. We must all sing lustily!" Suddenly Emilia, like one demented, beats about with both arms. Mašemikens explains this in the following words: "Emilia has just caught hold of a yefáčel and pushed it into the fire. But it quickly escaped!" The singing continues excitedly. Mašemikens cries: "I see, the yefáčel are very angry! They are throwing stones at us with their

/1409 cont./

slings because Emilia pushed a yefáčel into the fire. Emilia did this because that yefáčel would not sing along with us." Soon afterward Emilia takes Santiago's hand and rubs the palm of his hand with hers, saying: I have caught the yékuš that the yefáčel hurled with his sling; it now belongs to you [Santiago], I'm giving it to you!" While everyone present goes on singing, she adds: "I have great power over Haučélla. My first /1410/ husband was a capable yékamuš; I learned a lot from him!" After a time the song becomes somewhat weaker, and Emilia cries anxiously: "Everybody here seems to be very discouraged! They are no longer making an effort and act as though they were dead. Please help me sing, my yefáčel loves singing. It came from a great distance, from šégetex-tulëλa [on the Wollaston Islands]. Are all the ušwáalexamuš present?" There is a "Yes" from many voices. Emilia continues, her eyes still staring into the distance: "I see other yefáčel there on Cape Horn. Some of them are constantly slipping on the smooth ice. But others are coming with lightning speed. They are already standing here. I must sit down in front of them!" A bit later Emilia squats in front of me, she excitedly draws her open hands over my body from the top of my head to my knees; then she presses her hands hard against my chest, and finally says, straight into my face: "Herewith I give you your own yefáčel. It comes from the extreme south where there is all that ice. From now on it belongs to you!" Thomas cries loudly: "This yefáčel is behaving in a very friendly way!" Loud singing follows and continues for ten minutes. Finally Mašemikens announces: "Now all the yefáčel are leaving. Mine is sad because it must leave me, but the other yefáčel demand it. They are already out on the high seas!" Quickly silence again falls on the lõima hut; only one person continues singing in a weak voice.

Similar performances go on evening after evening, and everyone present takes part. Words and gestures are expressions of the confused fantasies of each speaker, who is free to clothe his feelings in words. Now and then the yékamuš also engage in their well-known feats of strength, namely, a contest held in the visions of usually two opponents. The rest of the yékamuš carefully follow this struggle and let the people present know

/1410 cont./

X156 what they observe. The results of such tests of strength are, of
• 787 course, disappointment and displeasure among those whose yékamuš has been defeated, joy and satisfaction among those whose yékamuš has won. The old masters enjoy this very much, for the lóima-yékamuš gives them their best opportunity to prove their ability in front of others. Such feats of strength are relieved by loud singing and the interspersed cries of those present. At a sign from the leader, song and cries suddenly break off. Immediately everyone bends far forward and presses his hands flat against the ground, as though pressing it down. This is meant to hold back the many spirits here in the hut or in the immediate vicinity. Afterwards everyone again assumes the rigid posture and remains silently in his place. If someone leaves the lóima hut, the others seize his kẽspix́ to hold it back so that it will continue to accompany all of them in their singing.

X156 The Haučéllakīpa have been mentioned several times.
787 These spirits are regarded as the rulers of the lóima-yékamuš.
776 There are many Haučélla, both male /1411/ and female, and they constitute an evil band. Each yékamuš has his Haučéllakīpa, just as he has his own yefáčel. When they say that Haučéllakīpa is the mistress and female ruler of the lóima-yékamuš, they mean that spirits of this type often make themselves felt inside the hut, carry on disputes among themselves with great fury, and let all the men feel their deep resentment. They arrive in the Great Hut every day; several Haučélla will even join together and threaten the circle of men with death. In their visions the yékamuš observe all the details, hence the constant fear and alertness of the yékamuš with respect to the Haučélla. Although each of them is at the service of her own yékamuš in everyday life, nevertheless here in the Great Hut she sometimes behaves like a violent foe. No one here is safe from her; she gives vent to her fury and keeps all the men in a state of panic. This is what the people mean when they refer to Haučéllakīpa as the ruler of the lóima-yékamuš. The greatest agitation and most threatening attitude of these spirits are shown when they force everyone present to repeat rapidly hẽte, hẽte, hẽtetetetẽte in marked rhythm and on the same pitch. It is called the song of Haučéllakīpa. While it is going on, the men get up to offer

/1411 cont./
resistance; they struggle with these spirits and either subdue them or are overcome by their superior power.

One evening, during the customary singing, Emilia was excited beyond all bounds. She cries: "A Haučéllakīpa has overcome Mašemikens! I shall kill her without delay!" Mašemikens has to squat in front of her on the ground. She sings and with her index finger scratches a line on the ground all around him. Then she yells loudly, clenches her fists, beats them against the ground, wails dreadfully, gnashes her teeth, places her mouth against the ground, and bites it furiously. While the other people apprehensively continue singing, Emilia sits up and makes a few quick motions with her outstretched hand as though she were cutting up some large object on the ground and were distributing the pieces in every direction. She heaps sand over that spot on the ground. Then she repeatedly throws her arms around Mašemikens and holds him tight, embracing him from the shoulders to his knees as though she were obliged to hold him together. Meanwhile she wails loudly. The whole performance means that Emilia has killed the Haučéllakīpa and thus freed Mašemikens. Now the jealousy of Mašemikens' wife comes out, for she cries: "For some time I have noticed that my husband was under the spell of that woman!" Emilia interrupts her: "One can show no mercy toward a Haučéllakīpa! One must quickly murder her, she is always most dangerous! A man to whom Haučéllakīpa attaches herself will not live long; he would soon be destroyed by her!" Angrily she beats her fists in the air and cries: "Now I see that my yefáčel is perturbed because I murdered that Haučéllakīpa; /1412/ it is returning in order to release its blazing anger on us all. I shall tell it frankly that I, alone, was the murderess; then it will leave you unharmed!" As she continues singing, she makes motions as though she were hurling stones with a sling against that spirit. Finally she cries, happily excited: "I see that my yefáčel is retreating once more!" At these words Mašemikens breathes a sigh of relief and confesses: "For a long time I have been completely discouraged, I was quite weak, I felt very oppressed. Now I am free again!" Thereupon the entire circle of participants calms down. Scenes such as these are repeated almost daily. Sometimes the men join forces and

/1412 cont./
advance on Haučélla (p. 1334). The women in the camp are seized with fear whenever they hear the howling of the men, indicating that the latter are again obliged to struggle with Haučélla.

γ. The Conclusion

From the preceding description one can easily see the goal of the lōima-yékamuš, namely, maximum development of the power of imagination and auto-suggestion, stimulation and cultivation of the dream-fantasy, and increased ability to fuse external phenomena and everyday occurrences with individual fantasies. A yékamuš, by means of his singing, must be able to put himself quickly into the dream state in order to feel that the dream images and fantasies are living personalities; he must associate with them and deal with them, offer resistance to them, and give them orders as though they were human beings. It cannot be definitely determined to what extent an uš̄wā̆alé̆xamuš succeeds in this accomplishment; in all these things he is left to his own imagination. Whatever the old masters say on the subject is not regarded as a judgment that must be taken into account. They decide on special treatment only in the case of a candidate who is very slow in his progress. Mašemikens experienced this himself and described it to me. A capable yékamuš will make the unsuccessful apprentice stand up in front of him and will say to him: "I shall try to strangle you!" He seizes a stout leather strap, puts it around the boy's neck, and says: "Now watch out!" The yékamuš chokes the apprentice as hard as he can, until the boy falls over. Repeatedly he shouts at him: "Remember, this lōima house is a place for Haučélla!" Soon the apprentice sees many Haučélla sitting around the fire warming themselves. Then the apprentice's kĕšpix approaches these spirits, but he begins to feel uneasy in their company, and full of fear, he withdraws. Now the yékamuš removes the leather strap from the neck of the apprentice. After that the latter has no difficulty in quickly transporting himself to the realm of the kĕšpix; Mašemikens assured me of this from his own experience. Naturally, a yékamuš

/1412 cont./

Y756 787 does not literally strangle the apprentice; rather, this act, too, takes place in a visionary state, and the yékamuš merely describes it in words that can be understood.

With the lóima-yékamuš the old masters strive to train a number of candidates /1413/ to make them sufficiently skilled in their calling. Hence the length of the training cannot be determined beforehand. Most of the yékamuš, though not all, remain together until they have achieved the desired results, that is to say, for the entire winter, perhaps even for five months. The daily monotony wears down the ušwáalékamuš and puts their nerves in a state of extreme irritability. On such soil there is a luxuriant growth of those fantasies and hallucinations which are sought by auto-suggestion and striven for by the immediate circle. After the lóima-yékamuš is over, each apprentice attaches himself to the man who was his particular guardian during the affair. He takes further instruction from him alone, until he can independently begin to practice the art of the medicine man. The rest of the yékamuš also continue to observe each one who was trained in the lóima hut and follow his activities. They exchange opinions about whether or not unusual achievements may be expected of him.

When the goal of the old masters has been achieved, they discuss the conclusion of the affair with the leader. They soon agree, the visitors are notified, and everyone renews his body painting with particular care. The formal farewell from the lóima house consists of a čówánni song, by means of which the spirits of the many different kinds of coastal and deep-sea animals are invoked. Thus on the last evening the people present intensify their singing at the given hour, put themselves into a state of spiritual excitement, and first of all invoke the késpix of those yékamuš who have died in that particular region, calling them into the lóima house. After a brief period of singing every participant thinks he feels their presence, and from then on the singing goes on, but faintly. Meanwhile everyone thinks about the čówánni spirits. After a while the singing grows louder and stronger. At the same time everyone makes running movements along the ground with the fingers of both hands. These are supposed to show that his késpix is walking down to the beach with

/1413 cont./

the penguins, as far as the water line. From this point his kĕ̆špiɨ́ begins a flight far out to sea in order to fetch the čōwánni spirits from the distance. This is immediately followed by arm movements which look as though the cupped hands were constantly shoveling water from below upwards, which means that the kĕ̆špiɨ́ of the ílĕ̆šči (herring) are rising out of the depths of the sea and assembling. They are joined by the kĕ̆špiɨ́ of whales and seals, marine and beach birds. Mašemikens cries: "Foam is appearing on the waves, it constantly increases! Soon the čōwánni spirits will turn toward our lōjma hut!" Immediately Emilia clears the ground a bit in front of the entrance, "so that the canoes of the kĕ̆špiɨ́ can easily glide in." As she does so, she calls: "Those čōwánni spirits have a great many vessels!" Now she gazes outside in a particular direction and moves her arms vigorously, "so that those spirits will quickly come." The singing of all the participants becomes more excited. Emilia cries enthusiastically: "The čōwánni spirits are quite close!" She stares at the ground in front of her /1414/ and cries joyfully: "All the canoes are now here where I am sitting! There are a great many. We must be alert or one of the canoes will hasten off with our kĕ̆špiɨ́!" Immediately Black sprinkles ímɨ upon the many vessels, that is, on the spot in front of Emilia, because he, too, sees the many canoes in his mind. Emilia behaves most excitedly. She stares at the ground as though she were looking for something and declares: "These kĕ̆špiɨ́ are bringing a lot of paddles, the men have a great many harpoons. I shall now distribute a few of these things!" She gesticulates as though she were taking hold of paddles or harpoons and rubs the hands of all the women and men, thereby handing these things over to them. Then all the women begin making rowing motions and all the men gesticulate as though they were hurling harpoons. In between there are shrill cries of hi hi hi...All this is done to please the kĕ̆špiɨ́ who are present. Mašemikens repeatedly interrupts with cries of "Be on guard!" The singing grows fainter. Emilia looks around the circle as though mentally absent and says in a croaking voice, as though she were short of breath: "My own kĕ̆špiɨ́ is now sitting in a canoe of the čōwánni spirits. I know many of them!" Once more the singing becomes animated, with all the people taking

/1414 cont./

Y756 787 part with full force; it is always the monotonous melody on the same pitch, without unison. It is only after some time that the voices grow weaker, and Emilia says loudly: "Now I shall send all the canoes back again!" While the faint singing goes on, all the people present get up and keep thrusting their arms forward parallel to each other, their hands stretched out and upright. These movements are accompanied by loud cries of kɛ̄kɛ́tɔ, which are supposed to push the čōwánni spirits out of the lōima house and far away. Then they vigorously stamp the ground with both feet in order to make the Haučélla spirits climb far down into the interior of the earth. Finally the song dies down. One person or another is still looking into the distance with tired eyes, as though he were following the departure of the čōwánni spirits.

With the agitated čōwánni song, which lasts about an hour, the people present have taken final leave of the spirits which appeared in the lōima hut. Each one gathers up his things and leaves the hut without any formality. The daily monotony in the family hut now starts again for everyone. The large lōima hut is abandoned to its fate. Soon the families are scattered in all directions.

Y756 773 Not only the lōima-yɛ́kamuš, but the entire medicine-man system has been in the possession of the Yamana for a long time. They do not know anything definite about its origin; there is no myth that tells about it. Old Thomas gave me the opinion of authoritative persons: "The yɛ́kamuš arrangement is very old. A long time ago the people who were the first to migrate into our region with the kína also brought along the yɛ́kamuš arrangement. They invented it, just as they invented the kína. Then when the general upheaval occurred in Yáiaašága /1415/ and the kína was taken away from the women by the men, the great yɛ́kamuš of that time changed themselves into stars and animals, Lɛ̄m and Akáinix, Aš́ōula (Pseudorca crassidens), Yo'okalía (Milvago chimango), and many another capable yɛ́kamuš. The few men [yɛ́kamuš] and women who did not perish in that upheaval became the teachers of all the subsequent yɛ́kamuš. There were some of these at all times." This reference to the origin of the yɛ́kamuš system in the north points also to its connection with the kína; this has been stressed in Gusinde (n):972. This explains the

/1415 cont./

X756 773 designation ɡóna-xéola which is the equivalent of yefáčel-xéola. The lóima-yékamuš is not linked up in any way with Watauinéiwa. I asked point-blank: "What is the attitude of Watauinéiwa when the yékamuš gather in the lóima house?" My informants replied unanimously and without hesitation: "He simply looks on and lets them do as they please!" A lóima-yékamuš gives the experienced masters great satisfaction, especially if they win over a few young men to their calling.

c. Activities of the Medicine Man

X756 ● 787 533 Whenever a yékamuš wishes to act as such, he must put himself into a state of auto-suggestion. The people say he acts "in a dream." Now it may be that in his sleep an ordinary dream image excites him very much and awakens him. He continues to occupy himself, in a semi-conscious state, with the image thus received. In order not to lose it, he sings his monotonous melody while holding the upper part of his body bent forward and gently rocking back and forth. Briefly, what has happened is that his own yefáčel or another spirit has made contact with the yékamuš; this contact continues for as long as he goes on singing, during which time there is an exchange of messages. More often the desire for contact with his yefáčel comes from the yékamuš himself. In order to bring forth the yefáčel, the yékamuš sits down on his pallet, fights off all distraction, fixes his thoughts upon his guardian spirit, and sings his own melody uninterruptedly while gently rocking the upper part of his body (329). After a

329. Bridges (e):332 and (k):237 reported: They "began singing many and long magic songs, if the senseless and monotonous noise and constant rocking back and forth of the body can be called such..."; "Through spells, fasting, and rocking the body, they were able to induce a state of overexcitement and, when in this condition, claimed to possess extraordinary powers" /translated from Spanish/.

/1415 cont./
X 756 time the singing suddenly becomes more lively. That is the
● 787 moment at which the yeſčel itself takes over the melody and
533 carries it on. At this point the medicine man's personal effectiveness is eliminated, and thereafter the yeſčel takes over. It recognizes the aims and intentions that the yékamuš is striving for and, for its part, makes an effort to /1416/ realize them. The yékamuš is aware of everything that the yeſčel does; he assesses the attitude and actions of the yeſčel and consults with it. When it leaves him, the singing stops and the yékamuš awakens from the absorption of his dream state.

With these brief words I have described the basic features of the co-operation between the yékamuš and his yeſčel or other spirits. No matter what the yekamuš plans and strives for, the force that carries it out is his yeſčel or another spirit. The people express this co-operation by saying: "The kelpif of the yékamuš gives way to the yeſčel; the latter acts by itself as long as the singing lasts." Thus the yekamuš who is trying to accomplish something starts on his own initiative to attract his yeſčel by singing. Sometimes it does not come although the yekamuš has been exerting himself for more than an hour by singing. Confronted with this lack of success, he stops singing and frankly tells the people around him: "Today my yeſčel has forsaken me!" Sometimes he makes a second attempt.

1. His Efforts for Fellow-Tribesmen

X 756 Even if he starts singing in the middle of the night, the
302 medicine man never omits his simple outer trappings. They consist of the apíwęra which he ties around his forehead (p. 1307) and a simple facial painting. For the latter he rubs his face and head with dry white powder or he draws a single finger-thick white or red line from one ear lobe to the other. He always carries these things within reach and his wife sees to it that he has pigments.

X 756 From earlier communications and reports one can clearly infer that the activities incumbent on the yékamuš are varied. Despard (b):717 declared: "His business is to allay the storm;

/1416 cont./

X 756 and as he must lead in funeral ceremonies, his qualifications must be to weep whenever he desires. His practice is to outshout, if possible, the roaring of the wind, and to stay the pitiless pelting of the storm by pelting mussel shells into it" /cited in English/. Bridges writes: "Doctors are believed to have great power in their dreams, even to eat persons, that is, to kill them" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 259;1864); he (b):209 and (a):213 also says: "They are said to possess supernatural powers to bring about good or bad weather, to cure the sick, etc." /translated from Spanish/. According to Burleigh, "the yékamuš practice a kind of witchcraft and profess to be able to see into the future and foretell events" /cited in English/ (MM:XXIII, 245;1882). This is really true.

Because of these multiple duties of the yékamuš they specialize, so to speak, each one generally devoting himself to a special area in which he achieves a certain mastery. Thus some yékamuš /1417/ are very well informed about the heavens and the sun, moon, and stars; others about clouds and the weather, rain and snow, frost and ice; still others about air currents, namely, winds and storms and the movement of the water, especially waves and eddies; other yékamuš are reliably informed about everything that moves in the forest, chiefly the habits of the guanacos and foxes, rats and owls; still others carefully observe the habits of whales, seals, and schools of fish in the water and flocks of birds along the coasts; finally, certain yékamuš are outstandingly capable in combating illness. Thus a Yamana who is in any kind of distress turns to a friend who is a "specialist" and requests from him counsel and enlightenment, help and support.

X 756 ●787 Again it must be emphasized that every medicine man performs only "in the dream," that is to say, in a mental vision. He sings continually, as though lost in dreams, and whatever he sees in this awake visionary state has reality for him. He names and describes in audible words the details of his actions and those of his spirits, and on the basis of this the people around him follow his activity. Nothing that he shows or describes, grasps or gives away during his singing is actually present as such; the other people cannot perceive it with their senses or feel it with their hands. Only the yékamuš in his dream state deals with all the different things he mentions, yékuš and sling, weapons and tools, kéipči of

X 756 787

/1417 cont./
human beings and animals, yehi'ei, and Hagi'elis as though everything were absolute reality. The people around him to whom he gives more or less explicit reports believe them and regard them as true. For example, if he cries, "I have caught this yehi', hurled by a hostile yehamuf, with my right hand and and I am placing it on the ground in front of me," this means that the yehamuf performed this act in his vision, whether or not he moved his arm. All the people who hear his words accept them with the same credulity as that shown by a European who listens to his neighbor's report about his dream images. Our Yamana, however, regard everything that happens "in the dream" of their yehamuf as an actual event and believe in its direct effect or in the success proclaimed.

a. Healing the Sick

X 756 787 753

The field in which the medicine men are most active and in which their help is demanded by their countrymen is that of healing the sick. In order to evaluate this correctly it must be kept in mind that the yehamuf does not combat actual physical suffering. If an ailment has appeared, it is quite possible that a hostile yehamun, an enemy of the person afflicted, has sent it, and the medicine man recognizes this situation "in the dream" or through a message of his yehi'ei. /1418/ If this is truly the case -- the origin of such an ailment might be identified as magical -- then a stronger yehamun must release the afflicted person from it by neutralizing the sorcery of the hostile yehamuf. For example, if a person has stumbled and fallen or has an upset stomach, he applies a tested remedy which he himself knows or which a member of his family advises. Beyond that, however, in order to be on the safe side, he does not fail to go to a friendly yehamuf to be treated by him in his magical way. /Fig. 98 appears here./ An ordinary human being cannot tell whether his ailment derives solely from natural causes or whether a malevolent medicine man has a hand in it. Most ailments, especially those unfavorably affecting mental activity, are intentionally caused by a vengeful yehamuf in order to make the person ill or even to make him die.

1: Gontade--1500 8-5 (1919-1924) 1937 1038 Yahgan 0038

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/1432 cont./

leaders success. While they sing, they stare into the distance, stretch out both arms, open their hands and clutch the air, draw their closed hands back to their bodies, open them, press them against the chest and, with gentle pressure, down to their knees. As they do so they repeat a skill or several times. With these movements they wish to invoke the skill of the game animals, attract them, and gain power over them. The next day the men set out full of confidence.

X-156 789

The Yaghans believe that their medicine men can see into the future and that they have infallible prescience. The yékamuf themselves are especially convinced of this and give advance warnings to individuals. They also may admonish their whole group to be careful or may announce the prospect of a favorable event. On March 22, 1923, I was standing with several people when Mašemšeta said very distinctly: "Outside I see a long /1433/ canoe approaching with two fellows [Phalacrocoraxes olivaceus]!" Sure enough, the following day the people sighted unusually dense flocks of these birds which seldom come a channel in such numbers. On another occasion Emilia stared out at the ocean like a seeress and cried: "The sea is getting white, mountains of waves are forming and a great deal of foam is gathering!" Her words sounded strange to us, since the surface of the water was entirely smooth. The next morning, however, bad weather came up from the east, causing high waves, and we remembered that Emilia had announced this change at noon of the preceding day. A few people said in wonder: "How remarkable it is that our yékamuf know so many things in advance!"

X-156 755

If the population in general is struck by illness, either because they have eaten spoiled meat or, more recently, because of an epidemic brought by Europeans -- something that the yékamuf occasionally foresee in a dream -- the medicine men feel obliged to help immediately. They are told in a dream at what place all the people must assemble. They announce the place and without delay call the people together to a mašíyaina. First, a big fire is kindled. All the adults and children stand around it. As soon as this circle begins to move, everybody raises his face, wails in hollow sounds, and interjects frequent loud cries of ya ya. Finally they seize glowing sticks of wood and toss them high in the

/1425 cont./

leaves his body and meets his Haxʷélaklʲa somewhere. The two now undertake a serious attack against the klʲpúi of the person they wish to destroy. They choke him, wrestle with him, and stamp on him. No matter how bravely the klʲpúi defends itself, Haxʷélla is stronger and finally hurls a yéhuŋ at him so that he falls down dead. The poor man wakes up in a state of utter exhaustion; blood flows from his nose and mouth, and vomiting and other serious difficulties occur. He is so weak that his klʲpúi does not even remember having fought so hard the night before. /1426/ His physical strength wanes perceptibly and within a few days he is dead. I was told that if a Haxʷélla fatally injures a klʲpúi with the yéhuŋ of her medicine man, there is no hope for the wounded person, but only a few yéhamuŋ succeed in obtaining such capable co-operation from their Haxʷélla. No one explained to me whether and how the procedure just described can be reconciled with the unlimited right of Watashíŋwa over human life and death. This much, however, is obvious, namely, that the yéhamuŋ are the cause of constant uncertainty and disturbance for their fellow-tribesmen and that everyone must seriously fear and avoid a malicious, hostile yéhamuŋ.

5. Feats of Strength

There are all kinds of occasions when a yéhamuŋ wants to prove his ability to his own family group or his superiority to his colleagues, for the more one of them achieves, the greater will be the people's faith in him and the more he will be esteemed by all. Younger men, especially, are obliged to demonstrate such feats of strength, for they must gain acceptance among their countrymen. It should be noted, however, that all achievements of this kind are performed by the yéhamuŋ in their mental visions, and they clearly describe all the details. For example, one of them will be sitting in front of his hut fire, and during his singing he will become extraordinarily excited. Suddenly he cries: "Now I am seizing hot coals and filling my belly with them!" In the awake vision he stretches out his arms to the fire, as though he were towing burning pieces into his mouth; after a time he makes

/1426 cont./
vomiting motions, as though he were spewing out the burning embers. Afterward, when he awakes, he is, of course, unharmed, but the people around him believe that everything took place just as he described it. Nevertheless, it happens now and then that he really does seize a burning ember and instantly tosses it away; during this brief interval, noticeable burns cannot form, but his action, which is certainly not deception and is not intended to be, makes an impression (336). On one occasion I was told: "The

336. It is only in this sense that one can interpret what Bridges (k):237 and (i):18 observed: "I have seen one of them hurl himself on the fire and throw the burning embers up in the hut among the people assembled there; meanwhile he danced on the superheated hearth. It is to be supposed that the hard skin of his feet was somewhat burned, and it is probable that he took the precaution of wetting them well beforehand" /translated from Spanish/.

medicine man Inois from the eastern group once had an asikā́ku in a lonely section of the forest and remained in the dream state for a long time. He saw many x̌o̅wánni spirits who sat down all around him, were very gay, and invited him to a meal. When he woke up, the fire that the x̌o̅wánni spirits had kindled was still burning beside him. He seized a few glowing pieces of wood, put them in his mouth, on top his head, and behind his neck and /1427/ then went to sleep again. Later he told his relatives about it. They looked him over carefully, but discovered no signs of burning and were very much astonished." Obviously all this took place in the mental vision of the medicine man. In March, 1923, Charlin told me: "Once there were several yékamuš assembled in Bahía Moat. As it happened, a dead whale was drifting in the broad channel just opposite this place. There were high waves; no one would venture out in a canoe. They had no recourse but to draw the whale to them with their 'strength.' They sat down at the edge of the water and began to sing. Meanwhile each of

X756 787

/1427 cont./

them hurled a few yékuš at the whale. They hit their mark and it drifted to shore. When the people learned of this act of their yékamuš, they marveled at their ability." Again this is an incident that occurred in the mental vision of the yékamuš and afterward was told to the people.

Moreover, two yékamuš will also have an actual contest in which one will try to outdo the other. An example of this has already been given on p. 1310. Usually the procedure is for each one to aim his yékuš at a particular goal. The one whose yékuš reaches this goal or even flies beyond it is the winner. In another type of contest one yékamuš will catch in flight the yékuš hurled by his opponent and send it back. The one who cannot muster up the strength to do so loses. The other yékamuš can observe such proceedings in their mental visions, and they inform ordinary people of them. The superiority of one yékamuš over his opponent is also shown when he forces him to cease his harmful acts. Examples of this have been mentioned on pages 1345 and 1353. They also show how easily a yékamuš can disturb the peace and conjure up ill-feeling (p. 1301).

X756 774

Every yékamuš, without any undue effort, can make the kẽspix́ of an ordinary human being subservient to him, and the younger the person is, the easier this can be done. The yékamuš keeps the "spirit" in his power as long as he chooses, unless a stronger yékamuš frees him. If this does not happen and the kẽspix́ is not released, the "soulless" body will gradually waste away and the person will die. For example, if a medicine man commences the lõima song in his hut and is disturbed by a child, he will seize the child's kẽspix́. During the brief period of the song this has no perceptible effect on the child, but the people present are anxiously concerned that the yékamuš soon restore the kẽspix́ to the child. Therefore after the singing is over, he will make violent retching motions, recover the kẽspix́, and hand it back to the child by drawing his open hands up and down several times along the child's body. If the kẽspix́ were not returned in this fashion, the child would die after a time. Every yékamuš is closely watched by those around him, which is necessary and advisable since this determines the favorable or unfavorable opinions that his fellow-tribesmen have of him.

/1428/ 2. His Relationship to Spirits

Y756 0187 The previous description leaves no room for doubt that all the activity of the medicine man takes place on a spiritual level. Thus he is completely dependent on certain spirits. When he practices his calling, he has no connection with Watauinéiwa, but in individual cases he realizes that he can achieve nothing in opposition to the Supreme Being (p. 1347). Once Mašemikens said to me very definitely: "Watauinéiwa does not bother about the things that the yékamuš do. They ignore him entirely. Sometimes, however, they ask him for help." Similarly the Yamana do not mention any connection between the yékamuš and Yetájta, who is mentioned in the youth initiation (p.760), or Tánuwa, who plays an important part in the Kina, or the Yoálox family, which rendered important service to the Yamana (p. 1120). The water spirits, Lakúma, which threaten ordinary people, are well-meaning toward a yékamuš and let him pass unharmed if he identifies himself by his singing. He is directly dependent on the Yefáčel and Haučélla (337) in his calling, but occasionally he also

337. Bridges (k):238 has already mentioned this: "The yecamush pretends to have dealings with beings called yapahchel and hoachiella, and they give him the ability to see and do fabulous things, especially to cure and to kill"/translated from Spanish/.

turns to other spirits.

I was told about the following lakúm-asikáku yékamuš, that is, the visionary intercourse of a yékamuš with a lakúma. A yékamuš was married to a woman who was very jealous of him. He was very much concerned about the welfare of his countrymen, which she did not like. Once when the two were on a canoe trip, she said mockingly: "I thought you were a capable yékamuš! You get all kinds of things to eat for other people; for me you do not let a whale or fish be driven ashore, you do not let birds land or crabs come to the surface. You ought to take much better care of your wife!" The yékamuš was very upset by these sarcastic words,

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781 and, without replying, he lay down. Although he kept his eyes closed, his wife continued to taunt him. She did not stop until the medicine man was snoring loudly. She steered her canoe toward Kā́awaja. Meanwhile the yékamuš slept and called to two Lakū́ma from Kā́luwa [in the west], which was far away. They finally arrived in Kā́awaja, immediately seized the canoe, and lifted up the bow. Full of fear, the woman called to her husband, who was still sleeping: "Get up and help me in this danger; after all, you are a yékamuš!" Very calmly he replied: "Try to get along by yourself. You have often told me that I cannot do anything!" She begged: "I entreat you to help me, otherwise the Lakū́ma will kill me!" After his wife had trembled for a long time, he sat up, but he still did not lift a hand. The woman was in an agony of fear. Finally he told her: "Paint both Lakū́ma with white pigment!" She replied: "Impossible, /1429/ I am unable to do that!" So he said: "Then give me the pigment!" With it he approached the bow, leaned over, and painted both Lakū́ma; one was on the right, the other on the left side. The Lakū́ma did not offer any resistance. Then the yékamuš got up, stretched out both arms, and laughed hí hí... The two Lakū́ma slowly let the boat down and dived. Instantly they sent the canoe favorable weather and it soon reached its destination. The woman was completely convinced and ruefully confessed to her husband: "Hitherto I have made fun of you and regarded you very contemptuously; now I know that you are truly a competent yékamuš!"

a. The Yefacel

X 756 It is well known that every Yamana has a guardian spirit
776 known as yefáčel. Whereas ordinary people act little or not at
787 all on this belief, every yékamuš maintains the most intimate connections with his yefáčel. Even in BD:661 this fact is confirmed: "yāpāčā́l, a being of more than human power and sagacity whom the yékamuš claimed as their inspiring power and instructor" /cited in English/.

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The medicine man treats the yefáčel somewhat like his child. He calls it to him with tender singing and discusses things with it quite intimately. He gives it all kinds of duties which it fulfills without opposition. The kěspiš of the yékamuš associates with the yefáčel in all kinds of things, just like human beings. They see each other in visions and consult with one another. As a matter of fact, it is the yefáčel that carries out the work of the medicine man. While it acts by itself far away, he remains completely motionless, stretched out on his pallet, waiting until it has fulfilled the duty given it (338). If it stays

338. Bridges (i):18 also mentioned this state of affairs: "When under the influence of the yapachel they pretended to be insensible to outward things, the burning of the fire and the presence of their friends. They at such times acted as though really possessed" /cited in English/.

near by, it continues the song begun by the yékamuš, that is, it sings through him. The yékamuš calls his guardian spirit by means of the song that the yefáčel gave him long ago when he received the call to this office (pp. 1318, 1330). This singing is called ušúna yefáčel and ašúna lóima. If in an exceptional case the yefáčel does not appear, the yékamuš feels abandoned and disappointed. Loudly enough so that those around him can hear, he complains: "Where is my yefáčel today? It probably stayed behind in the woods and is keeping me waiting here. My song is not successful now. I shall have to repeat it later!" The yefáčel converse among themselves and with the yékamuš in a special language. To ordinary people this sounds like a low, resonant tę̄, tę̄, but in it are hidden words that are intelligible to all yékamuš and yefáčel. /1430/ The yékamuš is content in the company of his yefáčel. In order to keep it with him now and then, he presses both hands hard against his chest or puts them against his throat. On his own initiative the yefáčel will report to his yékamuš various things which he ought to know. This guardian spirit is the active force in the practice of the yékamuš and, always at his disposal, is his most intimate companion throughout his life.

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B. The Haucella

X756 776 •787 Besides a yefáčel, the medicine man is supported by a Haučéllakipa. Although the two do not often meet, the Haučélla is incomparably mightier than the yefáčel. The origin of these spirits, which are both male and female, has already been described (p. 1119). To supplement it, here is what Mašemikens told me in August, 1923. Back in the time when the general upheaval took place, a few women hastened out of the Kina hut and hid on the Wollaston Islands. There they became Haučéllakīpa and entered the earth. They are hostile to human beings. Each of them succeeded in pulling a man down into the interior of the earth where he became a Haučélla. All of them are bent upon ensnaring our men and women with their flirtations. It is very bad that sometimes [male] Haučélla even assault our men and Haučéllakīpa do the same to our women (339).

[838]

339. With these words homosexual intercourse is clearly admitted, but only as a rare transgression by the bad spirits mentioned.

Anyone who is ensnared by these spirits is lost, unless he is saved in time by a yékamuš, but this is not genuine love. For example, if I should be going to a brook, lost in thought, an enchantingly beautiful woman may suddenly appear before me, enticing me with flattery and breaking down my resistance. This is a Haučéllakīpa. Thereafter I cannot get rid of this image; it is constantly before my [mind's] eye, and I am caught by the spell of love. Wherever I go, wherever I sit and work, this image hovers before me and follows me everywhere. Months go by and still the image of that woman overpowers me. While all this is going on within the man, he finally comes to his senses and says: "Every move I make is difficult for me, I feel unwell, my strength has long since failed me. But I cannot part from that woman, I am as close to her as though we were married. I am so filled with this woman and so dominated by her, it is as though an illness had penetrated my body. She has

/1430 cont./

X 756 776 787 long since subdued me, I must die!" That is the way such a man will talk. Sure enough, Haučéllakipa draws him down to her under the earth; his kĕšpiš remains married to her forever and his earthly body dies. In the same way a [male] Haučélla bewitches a Yamana woman, until she, too, falls completely into his power. A yĕkamuš realizes perfectly what is happening between one of our people and /1431/ the Haučélla. He must free a person in time from the power of those evil earth spirits or the person will surely die.

X 756 828 776 787 Mašemikens added the following to the above description: As a young man I traveled with my cousin south through the Molinare Channel. He was involved with a Haučélla without admitting it to himself. He had not eaten anything for several days. Although I offered him something to eat several times, he did not take anything. He always replied: "I have no desire to eat! I don't know what is happening to me!" We passed a place where we found many birds' eggs. My cousin did not eat anything. As we traveled on I suddenly realized: my cousin is under the spell of a Haučélla! After we had traveled on for some time, he leaped up in the forward part of the canoe and cried apprehensively: "A threatening storm is coming up!" I replied: "Not at all! We are having wonderful, calm weather!" He was completely out of his mind. When we reached Arákuwĕlla, my cousin ordered: "Light a big fire! She is approaching and bringing many axíya [round crabs] with her." I did as he asked, and soon he again ordered: "Make the fire bigger. She is considerably vexed by the cold!" I was speechless. Then my cousin cried: "Now she is here and is seizing me!" Instantly I picked up a stick and beat the air all around my cousin. Gradually he calmed down; we lay down and went to sleep. Since my cousin was feeling better the next morning, we rowed to Ilakĕteyíška. Having arrived there, we landed. Full of despair he said to me: "Let me warn you! -- I must soon die." In my anxiety I again seized a stick and beat the Haučéllakipa close beside my cousin. She, however, escaped under the hut wall and out into the open. My cousin immediately hurried after her and cried longingly: "My wife is running away!" After he had gone a few steps he collapsed and was dead.

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In general the interior of the earth is designated as the regular abode of the Haučélla. These spirits live together there in an extremely spacious hut. In his visions a yékamuš can more or less clearly observe what everyone is doing there. Mašemikens assured me: "If a yékamuš suddenly falls down, collapses as though drunk, and lies there motionless, that is when he sees quite clearly what is going on in the spacious hut of the Haučélla." The lóima hut is called "house of Haučélla," because these spirits give the men more trouble there than elsewhere. Individual Haučélla like to inhabit the so-called "dangerous places" which every Yamana anxiously avoids (p. 1200). Calderon said: "If a man alone inadvertently enters such an area, he suddenly becomes weak, sits down exhausted, and falls asleep. In his dream he sees himself lying beside a Haučéllakīpa who fondles him and has illicit intercourse with him. Since he feels utterly weak, he cannot defend himself and must let her have her way. After he /1432/ wakes up, he recalls but faintly what he experienced in his dream, and it frightens him to think that he has lain in the embrace of the Haučélla. His own weakness forces him to lie down again, and he is filled with dreamy bliss. Haučéllakīpa brings all this about because she wants to have sexual intercourse with him. Such a state lasts for many weeks, until a competent yékamuš frees the helpless man. The yékamuš sees what a Haučélla does to every man whom she has charmed into her embrace. With his singing the yékamuš calls together the čōwánni spirits, who must release such a man from the spell of that woman. A bitter struggle commences, which the yékamuš watches in his dream. The spirits seize the man [his kēšpíx] and pull him away; he is bleeding and his entrails hang out. Haučélla fights for him against the spirits and wards them off. But finally the many čōwánni spirits triumph, free the man from the spell of the Haučélla, and bring him back on earth. He is now forever free of that evil woman and slowly recovers from his weakness. The čōwánni spirits are the helpers of the yékamuš. They behave like human beings; they see and know everything. He associates with them as with his own kind and gives them instructions which they carry out according to his wishes. The yékamuš is completely free to use these spirits, but he helps only persons

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he wants to help. He realizes that many other Yamana are under the spell of the Haučélla, but he does not bother about them."

As an exception, a yékamuš will have a female yefáčel as his guardian spirit. It is like his daughter, and he may not be guilty of improper behavior toward her. If a yékamuš should force his [female] yefáčel to make love, his Haučéllakípa will grow jealous, come to him in a dream, give herself to him, and make him believe he is embracing the yefáčel. The yékamuš will be overjoyed, for he does not know that he is being deceived by his Haučéllakípa. Slowly he grows weaker, his condition grows constantly worse, and finally, when he is dying, he comes altogether under the power of Haučéllakípa. Such a yékamuš must, from the start, be on his guard toward his female yefáčel. Again it becomes evident that all the Haučélla spirits are unfriendly and spiteful, indeed, hostile toward ordinary people as well as toward the yékamuš.

Children may result from the union of a Yamana with a Haučélla spirit. "They are always full-fledged Haučélla; they remain with the Haučélla in the earth, and now and then let a person feel their dislike for him. The Haučélla spirits are very numerous. A yékamuš is well acquainted with each of them."

Although even the yékamuš must be on his guard against a Haučéllakípa, she is a reliable helper for a particularly difficult act. If he wants to do away with an enemy quickly, he sends his Haučéllakípa against him. She enters his body, which swells up enormously, and the end soon comes. For some people it is a pleasure to follow the enticements /1433/ of Haučéllakípa into the earth and to remain with her (p.1041). I was given the following explanation of this. "If someone dies at the instigation of a Haučélla spirit, his kespiš goes on living among the Haučélla, but he himself does not turn into a Haučélla and does not harm anyone. The yékamuš must see to it that no Yamana lets himself be ensnared by the Haučélla or destroyed by them." If a person is under the spell of a Haučélla spirit, the yékamuš will invite several men and have them form a closed circle around the sick person. He himself holds the evil spirit back for a time within this circle, so that the spirit grows weak. After that the yékamuš angrily bites the ground and wounds the Haučélla spirit fatally;

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the sick person is then relieved. It may happen that a malevolent medicine man is accompanied by his Haučéllakīpa as he walks through the camp. If the two pass an unsuspecting child, she will take its kēšpix́ away. Quickly an alert yékamuš must snatch the kidnapped kēšpix́ from the Haučéllakīpa and give it back to the child. He calls the child to him, rubs his open hands in a gently stroking motion up and down along the child's body several times, makes retching motions and coughs violently. Finally he kneads the child's body and announces: "Now you have your kēšpix́ back!"

I see a certain consistency in the fact that the Yamana associate the first illness with these spirits. They say: "Before the general upheaval in Yáiaašága, there was not a single sick person, but afterward one man suddenly felt persistent violent pains. He was ill and could not get up. Excitedly many men assembled and considered how this illness could have come about. After searching for a long time they discovered that the disease came from that malevolent woman who at that time escaped and fled to the south where she entered the earth (340). The men

340. In one instance it was said that "a woman tried to see whether she could transform herself and become a Haucella" (p. 1120); another time it was said that "a few women on the Wollaston Islands turned into Haucella and entered the earth" (p. 1360). The difference in the number of persons is unimportant; the significant thing is the agreement concerning the act described.

called this dangerous woman Haučéllakīpa. Then they considered how they could protect themselves against being ill, and they requested the yékamuš to offer their help to all Yamana." This account is a good explanation of the first activity of the medicine men.

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example: If a dog groans in the family hut, as though in despair, this is a sign of mourning, for it knows that a close relative of its master has just died or will soon die.

/1456/ 6. Medicine

In the following pages the work of the yékamuš, which is based on suggestion or on peculiar visions of spirits, will, of course, not be discussed. Similarly, the infections and epidemics that have been imported by Europeans (p. 340 /untranslated/) will not be considered. The Yamana are a healthy, resistant people, even though their physique may have little or no appeal for Europeans (p. 214 /untranslated/). They are as unfamiliar with transgressions against sexual morality as they are with alcohol. Although once or twice a year they overload their stomachs when a whale has been stranded (p. 313), they must now and then suffer a temporary food shortage (p. 306). They lack many things that could make their lives more agreeable (p. 298). The fact that many people have reached a considerable age is due to their mode of life and the atmospheric conditions of their country, but it would be arbitrary to mention age in figures. The infirmities of age, which undoubtedly occurred, seldom annoyed a person seriously. Without protracted suffering, most of them died an almost sudden, gentle death from actual old age (360). Fitz-Roy (a):186 found it

> 360. Hyades (f):573 also declares: "The Fuegians can reach an advanced age (70 to 80 years). They then show external signs of decrepitude, but their physical capabilities are, for the most part, retained. The infirmities of advanced age are almost exclusively chronic rheumatic ailments" /translated from French/.

surprising that he met neither men nor women "who appeared to be very old -- certainly no one was decrepit" /cited in English/.

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526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

538 **Music.**—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to
[534] von Hornbostel (1936). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 **Dances.**—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

771 Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men.
[769] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each
[787] *Yahgan* had a yefáčel, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

776 **Theism.**—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauinéiwa, who was also called by other

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names meaning "The Powerful One," "The Highest One," and especially by the name of "My Father." He was not the maker or creator, but rather the master and ruler. He was the owner and giver of animals and plant food. It was he who gave life to human beings, and who took it away. He was fundamentally good and benevolent. He lived above in the heavens. He had no body nor had he wife or children. He was distinctly and eminently set off against and above all other spirits, good and bad, and in this sense stood as it were alone. He did not enter into the tribal folklore and mythology. He saw what human beings did, and upon those who broke the precepts of the *Yahgan* socio-moral code, which represented his will, he inflicted punishment in the way of early death, and often the death of their children.

The central role of Watauinéwa in the initiation rites has previously been mentioned. Apart, however, from these rites, Watauinéwa was prayed to a great deal by the individual *Yahgan*. These prayers were mostly petitions to him for food (as the owner of the food animals and plants), for cure and health, and for protection from the elements, as well as expressions of thankfulness. A good many of them were more or less traditionally crystallized formulae, of a few words each, but prayer was likewise expressed in free wording. A quite distinctive feature of *Yahgan* communication with the Supreme Being was the frequency of complaint expressions and charges directed toward him on the occasion of sickness, bad weather, or other evil fortune, and particularly on the occasion of deaths. Gusinde and Koppers collected over 60 of these various kinds of prayer formulae. Some of them are in somewhat archaic language.

In view of these archaisms in the complex, of the many distinctly native features (e. g., master, owner, not creator or makor), of the absence of all characteristically European or Christian conceptions, and of the express and emphatic statements by the natives whose memories or whose knowledge from their elders reached back to pre-missionary days, there can be no reasonable question but that *Yahgan* theism is aboriginal, and not the result of missionary influence. It seems equally clear that it was central in the religious outlook of the *Yahgan* and that it entered deeply and dynamically in their thoughts, emotional life, and personal behavior.

Shamanism.—A person became a medicine man (yékamush) through an inner call manifested to him in dreams and visions. The héahteka-yékamush, dwarfish spirits, appeared to him; a female spirit, a Haučéllakīpa, also played an important part in shamanism, as the shaman's helper. Through the dreams and visions the future medicine man learned which of the small spirits was to be his yeſáčel, or particular guardian spirit. From this spirit he also received a song.